

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1920



Reedy's

MIRROR

IN THIS ISSUE

Must Teachers Strike for Better Pay?

Blow Holes in the Railroad Bill

Lying About Northwestern Farmers

Voluntary Tribunals for Better Justice

Upton Sinclair Muckrakes the Press

Aircraft Scandals, The Treaty,

Our Autocracy, Etc.

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Joseph Mazzini and Social Freedom

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By ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

and the impressions of

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The Springfield Republican says: "Those who fear the permanence and spread of the Soviet form of government will do well to watch and study Lenin and his methods closely, if the reports of Williams, Robins and Ransome can be accepted as an accurate and expert diagnosis of the diplomatic resources of Russia's premier. The evidence, at all events, is too important to be overlooked."

The New York Tribune says: "No one can deny Mr. Williams's ability to tell a good story. . . . His biography is an excellent first-hand sketch of a powerful and fascinating personality."

The Brooklyn Eagle says: "The picture is intelligently drawn. It will command a new interest in the famous radical."

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New Books Received

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MAN OR THE STATE? Edited by Waldo R. Browne. New York: B. W. Huebsch, \$1.00.

Seven essays by seven writers internationally famous, describe the historical evolution of the state, point out its failures, defects and dangers, and outline a nobler state-order to be built upon human brotherhood, industrial association and individual freedom. The writers and subjects are as follows: Kropotkin, "The State, Its Historic Role;" Henry Thomas Buckle, "Inquiry Into the Influence Exercised by Government;" Emerson, "Politics;" Thoreau, "On the Duty of Civil Obedience;" Spencer, "The Right to Ignore the State;" Tolstoy, "Appeal to Social Reformers;" Wilde, "The Soul of Man Under Socialism."

RUDYARD KIPLING'S VERSE: 1885-1918. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.

This is a compilation that has long been very much desired. The Kipling poems were scattered in many books and some had apparently been lost from all of them. Here everything that he ever did in verse that he deems worthy of preservation is to be found. The body of it is not as great as many might suppose. The poems range from 1885 to 1919 and they are not many for such a long stretch of years. Moreover, they still have the vital lilt and ring and burr-like phrase which have filled the common speech with Kipling quotations. Hypercriticism aside, and politics in the background, this is still poetry and only the mudsills can lift their damnatory voices against it.

THE MASK by John Cournoos. New York: George H. Doran.

A novel of men's mind and thought and spirit by an English novelist whose work is new to American readers.

WOUNDED WORDS by Cora Berry Whitin. Boston: Four Seas Co., \$1.

An interesting book of charades done in pretty good verse, with a key which will be of service to the industrious.

A CRY OUT OF THE DARK by Henry Bailey Stevens. Boston: Four Seas Co., \$1.25.

Three one-act plays, written to exemplify that war is a disease: "The Meddler" voicing love; "Bolo and Babette" voicing beauty and "The Madhouse" voicing reason.

RHYMES GRAVE AND GAY by Carolyn and Gordon Hillman. Boston: Cornhill Co., \$1.25.

A slender volume of verse, above the average.

LUDENDORF'S OWN STORY by Erich von Ludendorff. New York: Harper & Bros., 2 vols.

The Great War from the siege of Liege to the signing of the armistice as viewed from the headquarters of the German army, by the German Quartermaster-General, with portrait frontispiece and sixty maps. The work is dedicated to the heroes who fell believing in Germany's greatness. The general attempts no deification of the German nation or individuals, no justification of wrong, yet he shows that the Germans were merely people actuated by the motives and sentiments which inspire any other patriotic people. To see others as they see themselves is sometimes as profitable as seeing ourselves as others see us. Boxed.

THE VARIORUM SHAKESPEARE: THE LIFE AND DEATH OF KING JOHN. Edited by Horace Howard Furness. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.

This volume well exemplifies the monumental character of this work. The task of editing is truly colossal. A little rivulet of text streams along the pages through a vast expanse of annotation. If anything ever written or said about the play of King John has escaped Dr. Furness it must have been by some miracle. The appendix itself would make

a good sized volume. Here we have the original play, "The Troublesome Raigne," then we have an elaborate discussion of Colley Cibber's "Papal Tyranny in the Reign of King John," and following that the celebrated "Letter to Colley Cibber." There are estimates of the character of King John by various authors old and new; an essay on the character of Constance by Mrs. Jameson, another one by Knight, and still another by Fletcher; on Faulconbridge by Gervinus, Hudson, Brandes, Brooks; criticisms by Hazlitt, Oxberry, Daniel, Campbell, Halliwell, Simpson, Swinburne and many more. There is much material about Roman Catholicism and English politics in the time of King John. The history of the various presentations of the play is comprehensive; one tabulation runs from May 27, 1737, to May 25, 1874—from Garrick to John McCullough and a critique by William Winter upon Robert Mantell in the title part. The interpretations by all the great actors are dealt with rather extensively. Many of the other versions of the life of King John are presented in outline. The bibliography is extensive and the index more so. This volume is in addition an excellent piece of bookmaking. The complete Variorum will be a library in itself, not alone of Shakespearean, but of dramatic history.

HELIOGABALUS: A BUFFOONERY by George Jean Nathan and H. L. Mencken. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, \$2.

Exactly what the title implies done in the best Nathan-Mencken manner. It is a three-act play, written to be read and not acted, the edition limited to two thousand copies and the plates destroyed. The time is of the third century A. D. and the plot has to do with the vagaries of a Roman emperor who loves and weds a Christian maiden.

LITTLE MOTHER AMERICA by Helen Fitzgerald Sanders. Boston: Cornhill Co., \$1.50.

A novel of an emigrant who becomes Americanized to the fullest degree, who loves and marries and then gives her husband for the defense of America.

LITTLE THEATRE CLASSICS II edited by Samuel A. Elliot, Jr. Boston: Little Brown & Co., \$1.50.

Four classic plays adapted and concentrated for Little Theatres. The first is a new rhymed version of "Patelin," the famous fifteenth century French farce (produced in St. Louis by Irving Pichel and company in 1917), "Abraham and Isaac," an English miracle play combining the Brome and Chester texts; "The Loathed Lover," condensed from Middleton and Rowley's Jacobean tragedy, "The Changeling," and "Sganarelle, or Imaginary Horns" from Moliere, via Moeller. There are copious notes and stage directions. The author is director of dramatics at Smith College.

POEMS by Gladys Cromwell. New York: Macmillan & Co., \$1.50.

Padraic Colum, who writes the introduction, says that Gladys Cromwell's poetry is that "of an outdweller on modern life—no mannerisms and no novelties. Personality is expressed but not exhibited." There are probably one hundred poems in this slender volume, indexed by title and by first line.

ALLEGRA by L. Allen Harker. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, \$1.75.

Allegra is Jane Ann of "Mr. Wycherly's Wards" grown up. When this story opens she is a charming young actress "in stock," from which she is rescued by a young writer. The two become famous in their work and then Allegra becomes involved in heart affairs. Her reaction to Matthew and to Paul makes the story.

NOVELS AND TALES of the Earl of Beaconsfield. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co., \$1.50 per volume.

A reissue of the works of the famous English novelist is in hand by the publishers. The books off the press are "Endymion" and "Vivian Grey," in uniform binding and in a manner to simulate the original editions. The "advertisement" in the last named makes apology for including it in this series, but protests the publishers are compelled to do so by action of foreign publishers. A study in life is the drawing of the author by a contemporary of his youth and the portrait of him on the jacket.

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WILLIAM M. REEDY, Editor and Proprietor

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Must the Teachers Strike?

By William Marion Reedy

THE St. Louis Board of Education "hangs fire" on the proposal to grant a 33 1/3 per cent increase of pay to the 2,700 teachers in the St. Louis public schools. The Board has granted a paltry \$1 per day bonus for a short time this year. It pleads that there are not enough funds to do more. But it has an emergency fund of \$700,000, and what is the demand of the school teachers for better pay, if it be not an emergency? Is the Board holding that \$700,000 against the possibility of another cyclone creating a need for more school buildings. The odds are against the recurrence of such a cyclone, and then, too, most St. Louisans will agree that if we need more school buildings we don't need palaces. Is it more important to fatten the wallets of school building contractors than to pay the teachers a living wage? Not that we don't want handsome school buildings—not at all. They help increase values of surrounding land and that increase should yield more taxation. But teachers are more important than buildings. We could get along without some of our educational mausoleums—at least until we take care of the need for teachers and the needs of teachers.

Does the Board of Education put education first? One might doubt it, knowing that the Board pays the Secretary-Treasurer \$500 more per year than it pays the Superintendent of schools, and the chief clerk of the Secretary-Treasurer gets more pay per year than any teacher in the schools. The teaching department is not so generously salaried as the building or the supply department. The Board pays the Superintendent about one-half of the salary that is paid the corresponding official in other great cities.

The Board haggles over increasing teachers' pay when the people have voted upon themselves a tax that will bring in \$1,250,000 per year, and the tax was voted expressly for the purpose of increasing the pay of the teachers. What with this tax coming in this year and a part of that \$700,000 emergency fund held by the Board, there should be no difficulty whatever in the way of increasing the teachers' pay to the extent that the teachers demand.

What is the state of the teaching staff? It is inadequate in numbers. There are not enough substitutes available to fill the temporary vacancies in the staff caused by sickness, not even though the standard of equipment for teachers be lowered and the rules against the employment of married women be suspended, and emergency teachers who cannot get to the schools at 9 a. m. are welcomed if they come as late as 10 or 11 o'clock. And all the time there goes on a silent strike of teachers. The best teachers are dropping out of the ranks to take better paying positions in commercial life. Their places are taken, if at all, by teachers of inferior ability and with no more than a high-school or even a top-grade-school education. In such circumstances, under such conditions education must

deteriorate and the school system must function with sadly depreciated efficiency. Unless the Board of Education does something to check the loss of the best teachers the deterioration of the schools cannot but continue with accelerated speed to the point at which efficiency can only be represented by zero. What our public schools deliver will then hardly be describable as education. Such a condition of affairs will disgrace the community.

The Board of Education has treated the teachers rather shabbily. Indeed, I gather from what I have read that the Board is somewhat contemptuous of the teachers. The attitude is, "Oh, they're only teachers." Moreover, when the teachers organize to help themselves they are made to feel that they are doing something disloyal or debased, and doing it at their peril. "Their's not to question why." Their's but to submit, to wait patiently until the Board may be moved by compassion to help them a little in its own good fulness of time. They must be careful what they say or do. A lot of them would probably have been "fired" by this time if there were any good teachers to take their places. It is because of such things that the grade-school teachers have not long since organized a trade union and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as the National Association of High School teachers has done, though the local high-school teachers have not yet sent representatives to the Central Trades and Labor Council. The Board piddles and haggles, using soft words that butter no parsnips. And teachers are not comfortable in their minds, not at their teaching best, in such conditions. They are not mentally bettered by the Board's keeping their request for better pay hung up.

What are the teachers to do? They grow sick of waiting upon the side-stepping Board and its members. They have public sentiment with them, but the Board is imperfectly and dilatorily responsive to public sentiment. They are organized. They should act to show how well they are organized. Oh, how horrible, to think of teachers striking! But, if there's nothing else to do—what then? Oh, but it's so undignified to strike—just like a laborer! Yes, but teaching is labor, and to hang on the edge of starvation is not dignified. Oh, but teachers should teach for love of teaching! But teachers have to live in order to keep on loving teaching. Someone on the Board is said to have said that the Board was a bit scared when the teachers first talked of a strike, "but," said he, "rabbits don't bite." Maybe the teacher-rabbits could and would bite if they should join the American Federation of Labor and strike for their just dues. The actors in New York struck, the American Federation of Labor made common cause with them and the strike was won. What would the Board do if all the teachers should strike and the children in the schools had to be kept at home? The mothers of the children would storm the Board offices. The fathers, too.

The Board of Education dawdles with the

situation. The teachers are being driven by the distress of the high cost of living to the extremity of striking, and the Board has no supply of strike-breakers in sight. Other big cities advance the pay of their teachers in amounts worth while. Here they have been put off with a pittance temporarily and there is no good prospect of substantial betterment in the immediate future. The strike inevitably suggests itself as the only means to the end the teachers seek, the end the public approves. The people have voted taxes on themselves to increase the teachers' pay. The Board should grant the increase.

Of course, a teachers' strike would be a distressful incident, but—it is distressful for people to be, as St. Louis teachers are, overworked and underpaid. The Board of Education can avert the strike by giving the teachers the increased wage the people have taxed themselves to pay.

Reflections

By William Marion Reedy

Wanted: Peace, Not Politics

THE American people are becoming disgusted with the peace treaty situation at Washington. The parties to the deadlock have their eyes not upon peace but upon the next presidential campaign. The Senate and the President are playing politics. The people do not want the treaty debate carried over into the campaign. They are tired of it. They want action. As to the difference between the President and the Supreme Council, Fiume isn't important enough to hold up the peace. In this matter the President strains at a gnat after swallowing a whole menagerie at Paris. He stood for the rape of Shantung, the taking of the Saar valley mines, the protectorate over Egypt. Why gag over a much smaller matter? There are worse secret treaties than the one that gave Italy what she now claims. And why doesn't the President protest over the retention of the Turk in Europe? And the Supreme Council beats him to peace with Russia. Can it be that the President balks on Fiume now just to join hands with the Northcliffe press against Lloyd George in order to get even for Viscount Grey's letter declaring proposed senate reservations acceptable to Great Britain? Politics, politics, politics—and Europe starves while we fatten the profiteers. The President is bad enough, but Lodge is probably worse. He holds out for verbal niceties in the reservations proposed. It is time for sensible Republican senators to refuse to follow Lodge and for rational Democrats to desert the President. The American people don't care about a triumph for either the President or the Senator from Massachusetts. They don't care for politics in this matter. They want peace and a League of Nations which in functioning will rectify the evils in the treaty and covenant. "A plague o' both your houses!" De Wolf Hopper, as *Old Bill*, in "The Better 'Ole," is a better show than the Senate-White House snarl.

The New Party's Stirrings

RECENTLY there was a meeting at Chicago of representatives of the Committee of Forty-eight, the American Labor party, the Farmers' Non-Partisan League, the National People's Association, the National Farmers' Council, the World War Veterans, and other organizations with a political objective different from that of the old parties. They deliberated the question of common action for things upon which they are agreed, leaving things upon

which they are not agreed to formulation in special appeals to the voter. The first thing upon which all delegates agreed was that the old parties "won't do." The delegates want a new party and program. They will have a national convention, possibly before the old parties meet, though some of the delegates thought it might be well to wait and find out what the Democrats and Republicans do or refuse to do, and then frame a platform to cover advantageously the sins of commission and omission by the old politicians. The delegates were not worried by the proposal of the American Federation of Labor and some farmers' organizations to question all candidates for national office as to their stand on legislation in which the farmers and laborer are especially interested. They hope to present candidates certain to win the suffrages of those elements.

Naturally there was talk of possible independent nominees for the presidency. A platform is relatively easy, but the nominee must be a platform in himself. Some of the names suggested were: Frank P. Walsh, Robert Marion La Follette, Robert Owen, of Oklahoma, George L. Record of New Jersey, and Lynn J. Frazier, Governor of North Dakota. The Walsh suggestion met with much favor for his radicalism is vigorous and comprehensive, though there was some doubt as to his availability because of his alleged religious associations—an unpleasant injection into the situation, but one that has to be reckoned with. It is doubtful if Senator Owen would separate himself from the Democratic, or Senator La Follette from the Republican party, for an independent nomination. George L. Record is an Easterner, but the movement needs Eastern support and Record would get it so far as any one man could. Governor Frazier is the man the farmer independents want. He has never weakened on the Non-Partisan League program in North Dakota, and the Labor party men in Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania are disposed to support him. There was little or no disposition to consider the nomination of Debs, the socialist. Some people thought Glenn Plumb might be a good selection, but it was generally believed that the platform of the Forty-eighters and others at St. Louis didn't go as far as the celebrated "Plumb plan" for public ownership of the railroads.

Until the diverse elements in the new movement get together in national convention and form a party with a platform there is no likelihood of an agreement on a presidential candidate, for the men who would consent to run in a movement like the one in question are particular as to the policies they will or will not support. There is some clash between the proposals of the different organizations interested and these differences have to be ironed out. Until lately the special organizations have not been working in close formation for the new party, but since the Chicago conference there has been much improvement in co-operation. Thus far the field agents of the Committee of Forty-eight report a lively interest among the people in the proposals set forth in the St. Louis platform and its argument, and a decided curiosity as to the candidate who may be nominated upon that platform. The public craves a personality with whom to tie up the cause. As the movement gathers momentum the incarnation of the cause will appear, but he is not yet in evidence.

Dubbed Away a Billion

THERE are two reports to Congress upon aircraft production during the war—one utterly condemning the work as a gigantic waste and failure, the other proclaiming it a marvel

of efficiency; the first Republican, the second Democratic. But the Democratic report is a contemptible quibbling "whitewash." The aircraft production during the war was *nil*. A billion dollars was wasted in trying to evolve a perfect machine and this country never had one good machine of its own production in the air over the fighting ground. This was our country's most conspicuous ghastly failure in the war—as bad as our general failure in the peace thus far. Into the allegations of graft we need not go: the administration has been decorating some of the air-craft production department with medals for distinguished service. It has bestowed honors on officers in this department whose court-martial was recommended. When Gutzon Borglum cried "Graft" the administration appointed Charles Evans Hughes to investigate and report. When he reported, his report was edited and toned down with exculpatory explanations that took the edge off it. The Hughes findings were smothered; blundering inefficiency, waste, extravagance, graft and all. Democratic "whitewash" is too thin now to conceal the mottled, scabrous record of the air-craft department's incompetence. Sculptor Borglum's first charges against the air-craft crowd are abundantly sustained, but in spite of this the Democratic press is declaring that the men who dubbed away a cool billion for nothing deserve well of their country.

Untaxing Excess Profits

LAST week I elaborated a suggestion for speeding up production in manufacture without sacrificing the excess profits revenues. It was that the excess profits taxes stop at a certain amount of such profits and all production in excess of that excess be tax free. I observe that the *Post-Dispatch* favors the same thing. Here is what that paper said in an editorial on Friday evening, February 20th:

"The excess profits tax is an unscientific and indefensible tax. It discourages production and business of all kinds and contributes to profiteering and high prices. If it is retained it ought to be limited to a fixed amount of business—say the business of last year—and taken off of all business exceeding that standard. This would put the manufacturers and business men to work to reduce the proportion of taxation to business and to make money for themselves. It would, through increased production, reduce prices."

There's no getting away from this proposition, if we would have both big profits and heavy excess profits taxation. The suggestion is respectfully referred to David Franklin Houston, Secretary of the Treasury, for presentation to Congress.

Not Reed Is the Enemy

To those raucously regular Democrats who are determined to read Senator James A. Reed out of the Democratic party I would say that the damage and the danger and the discredit, not to say disgrace of the party are not incarnated in James A. Reed, but rather in Albert Sidney Burleson, Mitchell Palmer and—yes, if one must say it, in willful Woodrow Wilson. Reed is not altogether right, but he is not an upholder of personal, autocratic, anti-democratic government. Never mind about getting rid of Reed. Let us be rid of mail censorship, press censorship, espionage, sedition-snooping, pogroms against opinion and the chief executive's royal *Dieu et mon droit*! Missourians should remember the Drake constitution, the test oath and all that, after the Civil War. They should not now be hungry for more of the same.

Private Ownership's Final Test

The railroads go back to their owners March 1st. They are given back under a law the defects of which have hardly been discussed by the public. The transfer measure was postponed because of the treaty tie-up in the Senate. It was put upon its passage so late that there was no time for proper debate of its provisions and this haste was induced by the President's setting a date for the return of the properties at a time so little removed from that of deliberation that it meant nothing but a sort of cloture upon debate. The President gave the excuse for precipitate action. He played into the hands of those who wanted the roads returned with a minimum of protection of the public's interest and a maximum of protection for the private interest. The bill is the railroad owners' bill. The grosser evils of the bill are glaringly indisputable. First there is the guarantee of earnings, and that, too, upon a valuation of the properties which is practically that of the owners alone. The guarantee means that it must be made up out of public taxation or private taxation in freight charges, or both. A governmental valuation of the railroads was begun before the war, but stopped when we became involved, and has never been resumed. We must all pay upon the values fixed by the roads themselves. The guarantee acts naturally to discourage efficiency. When certain roads earn more than the guaranteed return, their earnings are to be taken and given to the roads that earn less. Why should a road try to earn more than the guarantee when anything more is to be taken from it? Why try to run a road well when the government will give any roads that fall short a share in the profits of the roads that make good? The railroad owners know what they will get. The public is left to guess what it will get, with the odds in favor of "getting it in the neck." The railroad workers have no guarantee as to wages, corresponding to this guarantee of the owners' dividends, except that their wages cannot be reduced before September—a provision wherein the management is as likely as not to read "before" as "until." As to wage disputes it seems to me that the bill means nothing. Arbitration is provided for, but no method of enforcing arbitration, and there is no assurance that the arbitration tribunal will be so constituted as to inspire confidence in the workers. The railroad employees demand more wages. They wanted such wages fixed higher while the roads were in governmental control, for they know that private control means curtailment of the labor account. They asked and ask nothing more than the owners asked and received—a guarantee of earnings. The public will pay the owners: why not the workers with equal or at least similar generosity? Governmental administration has been conducted at a loss of nearly \$700,000,000 thus far; no one knows how much may be added to that loss by the guarantee of earnings over a period of two years. There are other objections to the bill than those cited. The measure is imperfectly understood by the public. It is being jammed through Congress at the demand of the railroad owners. Congress acts in a combination of regard for capital and dread of Socialism. The President said, in effect, he would return the roads to their owners, with or without legislation, and that declaration has been used to further the restoration bill without adequate analysis in the public interest. The owners of the roads have had no lack of consideration; the public's side of the case has been prejudiced because that side was presented with an emphasis upon the Plumb plan, which paralyzed all the people who go off into a coma of the intelligence

when someone whispers "Soviet" or "Bolshevik." The railroading of the railroad bill has been carried through in the interest of the railroads almost exclusively and the President has helped mightily therein. Governmental operation has had no fair trial. Its merits have not been indicated, only its defects have been exploited. It might well have been continued for at least two years more to afford us some information upon which to act with knowledge. The owners are having their way. And all the consolation we get is from Mr. Hoover, who says that private ownership and operation is now to be put to its final test. If it's only an experiment we are making, we might as well have experimented a few years more with government administration. It would not have cost us any more than the experiment with private ownership under governmental guarantee of returns.

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Autocracy's Last Stand

KING GEORGE of England has decreed amnesty to political offenders in India. The President of France has done likewise in that country. The King of Italy gave pardon to 40,000 offenders against war laws in his land. There is amnesty and pardon for heterodox political opinion in every country except this, where we are supposed to have government by opinion. We have lost our liberty fighting for the liberty of other people. The magic word *verboten* is more powerful in the United States than it is or was in Germany. This country is unsafe for democracy in its fullest, truest sense. There are not wanting many signs that here we have the last survival of autocracy, with even a popularly elected senate proscribed and excommunicated by the President for daring to doubt his wisdom in the framing of the peace treaty, with cabinet members fired for trying to keep government going while the autocrat was held *incommunicado* by his physician and Joseph Patrick Tumulty, and with everybody who differs with the autocrat being read out of the autocrat's party. Amnesty's the word everywhere but here.

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For Simple, Honest Justice

A PLAN to establish a Jewish court of arbitration in New York City so that many cases now tried in the civil courts may be settled by arbitration, has been approved by District Attorney Swann in a letter to Chief Justice Frederic Kernochan of the Municipal Court. The movement is sponsored by leading Jewish clergymen, business and professional men. Under the arrangement one rabbi, one business man, and one lawyer or judge would compose each board of arbitration appointed to handle the cases of Jewish litigants. Awards or decisions made by the board would have all the force and effect legally that a decision by a city or Municipal court judge would have, but might be reviewed on appeal by the appellate division of the Supreme Court if either of the litigants is dissatisfied.

We may expect to hear that this is another case of "undermining our institutions," that it is the setting up of a "Soviet court," that it is a communist scheme, that it asperses the character of our courts, that it is altogether a thing showing the crying need of more "Americanization." What? Aren't our minor courts good enough for anybody? Well, if there isn't much faith in our courts left, the courts must be responsible for the unfaith. But there is nothing un-American in the scheme and nothing un-Anglo Saxon. It is thoroughly constitutional and moreover it fits in nicely with our judicial system as now constituted.

Mr. Percy Werner, of the St. Louis bar, a valued contributor to the MIRROR, has been advocating just this kind of voluntary tribunal since 1914. It has had the approval of the St. Louis Bar Association and the Missouri Bar Association. The proposal grows out of general dissatisfaction with court procedure or the adjective law. It would relieve the courts of clogged business. It would save much time for everybody concerned and much money as well. Mr. Werner would professionalize statutory arbitrations in which the lawyers representing their respective clients in respect to private differences, instead of carrying that difference into state courts for adjudication by an elective judge and an ordinary jury, would submit the matter under an agreement for statutory arbitration to a third lawyer selected by themselves. The award in such cases may be placed on record with the whole force of the state behind it. This is not an attack upon the jury system nor upon the judiciary. It is a proposal for their relief. No legislation is required to give it effect for the provision for statutory arbitration, was made a hundred years ago. The reform could be co-ordinated with a like movement in commercial organizations for the prevention of unnecessary litigation. The New York Bar Association, following the example of the New York Chamber of Commerce, recommended a system of voluntary arbitration in which one or more lawyers, sitting as arbitrators, are enabled to pass upon questions of law as well as of fact. The association has published a list of lawyers willing to serve as arbitrators and classified as specialists and general practitioners and arranged according to judicial districts. This general idea runs with the growth of Federal and state commissions exercising judicial functions, especially with regard to community rights.

Mr. Werner says this new jurisprudence is democratic. It gets away from technicalities, from lawing as a contest of wits, from the clutter of court delays, from multiplication of costs. It would in operation tend to keep private cases out of the courts and leave the courts to the adjudication of rights with a more public interest and bearing. It involves no change whatever in the substantive law. It should raise the standards of the legal profession. It would leave to citizens at odds with one another something of privacy in the settlement of their differences. Private persons could, as merchants exchanges and such bodies do, settle their disagreements out of court. Mr. Werner would do away with arbitrators as we now know them—one to be chosen by each party and a third by those two—with two almost inevitably acting as partisans of the persons selecting them. He would have one arbitrator selected and the lawyers would select a man upon whose knowledge and fairness they could rely. His plan is simple, honest, conciliatory and thoroughly democratic, and furthermore it is a solution of the tangled question of procedure in the courts. The lawyers and their choice for arbitrator can practically make their own procedure, cut out the technicalities as to terms of court, get rid of the vexing distinctions between law and equity and the *minutiae* of pleadings and bring matters to an early conclusion upon a basis of common sense dealing with the simple facts. No one who wants nothing but his right and desires justice rather than tricky advantage can object to such a system of voluntary tribunals. People who want law rather than justice could still resort to the established courts. Such a system would put an end to the "rain of law" from state legislatures on matters of procedure. It would develop law-

yers and discover judges—would demonstrate character in the bar. There is nothing unethical in the proposal. It would work for prompt settlement of disputes between people who want nothing more than a settlement in fairness and it would work practically for a decision of experts, for the lawyers would naturally select for arbitrators those lawyers most likely to understand the circumstances of the cases to be passed upon. Mr. Werner does not insist upon only one arbitrator. There may be more, expert in the particular branch of law or in the particular field of industry or trade involved.

With the editor of the *Journal of the American Judicature Society* one can say: "Mr. Werner's proposals open up a great gateway to justice. Just so far as they are successful the courts will be relieved of undue pressure of business, the bar will become more efficient and more respected, and clients will learn that the law, after all, exists for man, rather than man for the law." There is no reason why only the Jews in New York city should benefit by such a good thing as voluntary tribunals. The Gentiles should have such popular courts, too. Mr. Werner has fathered a great movement for reform and only inertia stands in the way of its accomplishing a vast amelioration of social conditions. The law exists. All that is necessary is for the members of the bar to apply it for the benefit of their clients.

The Press and the Farmers.

By W. M. R.

A FINE chance reform movements that go deep have of decent treatment in the press that supports the status quo, that is such a good thing for those who profit by that status. The Non-Partisan League is a favorite mark for disparagement and denunciation. It is second only in such bad eminence to the I. W. W. The League and all its works are an abomination to papers otherwise sane, like the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*. An editorial in a recent issue of the *Globe-Democrat*, entitled "The North Dakota Muddle," referring to a decision of the Supreme Court of North Dakota holding constitutional the laws enacted by the farmers' legislature of that state carrying out the Non-Partisan League program, says significantly: "The Governor appointed the judges * * *". The inference is, of course, that supreme court judges appointed by the governor would rule according to the governor's ideas about the League program, upon which the governor was elected. But the fact is that the governor of North Dakota does not appoint the Supreme Court judges, who are elected by the majority vote of the people. None of the five present Supreme Court judges was appointed by the governor; all were elected by the people.

Further along in the same editorial the statement is made that the constitution of North Dakota provides that no act of the legislature shall go into effect until the first day of July following its passage, unless the act received a majority of two-thirds in both houses. The *Globe-Democrat* says that the special session in North Dakota attempted to override the constitution by passing a law providing that legislative acts go into effect at once, even though they did not receive a two-thirds majority, and the "Townley court supported that doctrine." It is strange to see a conservative newspaper acting like a veritable "calamity howler," charging that any court elected by the people and functioning under a constitution is dominated by one man, and inferring that there is some sort of collusion or conspiracy between the legislature and the supreme court. It's only flannel-mouth "Reds" or Bolsheviks who write or talk like that. Has the *Globe-Democrat* nibbled "the insane root that takes the reason prisoner?"

Let's to the facts. The Supreme Court of North Dakota held unconstitutional the acts of the legis-

lature providing that the laws of the special session go immediately into effect. In other words, the Supreme Court, elected with the indorsement of the Non-Partisan League, decided directly opposite to the view of the majority in the legislature elected by the Non-Partisan League. This shows that, regardless of the fact that the judges and the legislators were elected on the same program, with indorsement of the same organization, they function independently and without conspiracy or collusion, as the esteemed *Globe-Democrat* would have us believe.

Moreover, the constitution of North Dakota does not provide when the acts of a special session shall go into effect. The constitutional provision merely covers regular sessions—providing that at regular sessions the acts shall go into effect July 1 following, unless by two-thirds vote they are made emergency measures, in which case they are immediately effective.

The former majority in the legislature were handling urgent matters and took a chance on being able to have this legislation immediately effective, in the absence of a constitutional provision covering special sessions. These farmers knew that the Supreme Court would decide the matter fairly on its merits, as a purely legal question. The Supreme Court has decided that the provision covering regular sessions in the constitution also covers special sessions, and the matter is settled. Nobody in North Dakota is making any complaint about the Supreme Court decision. The conservative *Globe-Democrat* should worry. Also the *Globe-Democrat* repeats the misrepresentation by the *Country Gentleman* that the League program of state elevators, hail insurance has boosted taxes in North Dakota 169 per cent, ignoring the fact that the extra taxation is called for by the state's soldier bonus of \$35 per month; all of which was explained in last week's MIRROR.

The plute press is determined to damn the Non-Partisan League regardless of facts. Cy Curtis' organ of farmers-with-a-check-book, says that the Non-Partisan League has "succeeded in starving the independent press of North Dakota to death and set up in its place a League-controlled press, in which there is no attempt at free or fair discussion." What is the fact?

The only action that the farmers' legislature or administration has taken in regard to the press of the state is the passage of an act intended to save several hundred thousand dollars a year in public printing costs and to prevent control of the press by officeholders through public patronage. This law cuts down the number of official papers in each county from three to one, and provides that that one paper shall be chosen by the people of the county at regular elections, the paper receiving the highest vote in the county to be the official paper. The result of this is not to crush out the independent press. There are nine daily papers in North Dakota, of which two support the League and six fight it. The weekly country press numbers something over 200 papers, of which 50 odd—approximately one in each county—are co-operatively owned farmer papers, which support the League. Almost without exception the remainder of the 150 country papers are bitterly opposing the movement. The overwhelming majority of the press in North Dakota now and always has been opposed to the League. The League has been compelled to bring about the establishment of two daily and some fifty county papers in order to have its side heard at all. A reading of the anti-League press in North Dakota, which is three times as strong as the League press in circulation and financial prestige, disproves the claim that "there is no attempt at free or fair discussion." At least any unfairness of the League press is offset by the like unfairness of the opposition.

Formerly in North Dakota patronage in the way of public printing was given out by officeholders to the newspapers. This amounted to heavy public

subsidies to the press, and, of course, created a press subservient to officeholders—an important and sinister part of the political machinery of both old parties. Under the new plan, instead of three papers in each county being subsidized and gagged by officeholders, one paper in each county will be subsidized—if that is the word for it—but it will be subsidized by a majority of the people of the county, who will themselves choose the official paper. It is fair to assume that, on the whole, the people of the various counties will choose as the official paper the one which gives them the best news service and the fairest and most intelligent discussion of public questions. One may have that much confidence in democracy without being a "hick" and a mark for gold-brick swindlers. The papers are controlled, as they are selected, by the people who read them, and not by office-holding politicians. Of old, the politicians controlled three papers in each county; now the people select one by popular vote. If there be complaint of this it can come effectively only from editors and publishers for whose papers their readers would not vote. What other means are there to get a square deal in the press for farmers' legislation, with the big press fixed against it, and stopping at no falsehood to discredit the experiments being made to get the farmer out of the clutch of the railroads, the mill-combine and the grain gamblers? The big press is for the gang that "have got theirs," and if you don't believe it, read "The Brass Check," by Upton Sinclair.

Frank McGlynn as Lincoln

By Silas Bent.

HEROISM in human affairs, as Carlyle observed, is an illimitable topic. To what extremes of derisory emphasis, we wonder, would he have been moved at an attempt to present within the restricted compass of the stage and in a single evening one of the "modelers, patterns, and in a wide sense creators, of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain!" And yet we may well believe that Frank McGlynn's *Abraham Lincoln*, ungainly, humorous, spiritually magnificent, does indeed realize the fundamental meaning of America's greatest figure. That and the necessary function of interesting an audience in a theater, was all John Drinkwater hoped for when he wrote the play now being presented at the Cort Theater in New York.

All credit is due the English poet for perceiving the heroic dramatic possibilities of this American figure, while our own little playwrights were wandering far afield to weave fragile fabrics around Napoleon and Molière; but not less credit is due, surely, to Frank McGlynn, until now an unknown, for his imaginative and sincere representation of it. A press agent yarn is going the rounds that somebody or other overheard a stranger in a restaurant saying that if the Lincoln play ever were brought from London Frank McGlynn ought to play the part; that months afterward, when the play was brought over, a still hunt was begun through stock and movie wilds for this obscure Thespian; that he and Mr. Drinkwater read together the pardon scene, the playwright taking the part of the youthful soldier; and that Mr. McGlynn was then and there engaged. It is a yarn adroitly calculated to cater to the credulity of those who read personals about stage folk, their perfumes and pomades and so on. It may be true. But even so, it is inconsequential. The important fact is that, had it not been for an amazing physical likeness to Abraham Lincoln, Mr. McGlynn, an actor of unmistakable mimetic and emotional power, would remain unknown to the American public. Our star system is such that oftener than not dramatic advancement is due to managerial favoritism or Lambs' Club acquaintance rather than to merit; and the magnitude of Mr. McGlynn's triumph serves only to emphasize the

shortcomings of our select coterie of theatrical promoters.

Before the play was brought to America it had been presented some three hundred and fifty times in London, with an Irishman as *Lincoln*, amid the unanimous applause of critics, royalty and day laborers. It seemed an assured success from the financial standpoint. The only element of uncertainty about presenting it here lay in finding a trained actor with the presence and the intellectual equipment to portray the central character. The American stage had no stars physically qualified and few if any of the required mental caliber. Frank McGlynn had not only the singular physiognomy and figure, he had the training, the brain and the heart. One may surmise what years of patient and unrecognized study and practice made possible the spacious freedom of his stage demeanor, the flexibility of his voice. He knows the artifices needful to his art, but he is first of all the artist. He is the unassuming, homespun, rail-splitting *Lincoln*, the country lawyer, the soil-sprung, unassuming humanist, the leader with a vision, the spiritual master of his fellows. It is indeed a characterization memorable beyond any other stage figure in years.

In the large and exceptionally competent cast, none other need be singled out for especial mention except John S. O'Brien, who plays *Seward*, and who depicts with persuasive skill, as the nervous, irascible and intellectual Secretary, the triumph of the statesman over the politician. He makes real that loyalty which caused Seward to be marked for murder on the very night Lincoln fell. It is a part that might possibly be bungled without ruining the play; by which I mean that it might just be acted without being felt. That Mr. O'Brien presents it so genuinely contributes materially to the extraordinary Olympian illusion which is created at the outset and maintained unflinchingly through six tensely absorbing scenes.

Sometimes it is difficult to estimate cathedral beauties when the clock in the tower is two minutes slow. Complaint has been made in many quarters that this play is merely a series of episodes, or that the *Chronicle*, who voices Mr. Drinkwater's dignified and eloquent reflection between the acts, is a blemish upon it. I think the Greek chorus in this case is dispensable, but surely not out of keeping; and the episodic character of the drama certainly is justified by the best traditions of the chronicle play. That is what it is, a chronicle play. Mr. Drinkwater did not set out to squeeze *Lincoln* into the corsets of the Sardou formula. He set out to interest an audience in the conflict and the triumph and the tragedy of a great career. He obeyed with humble fidelity those laws which, if ignored, relegate playwriting to the bookshelf. His first scene, in which *Lincoln* accepts the presidential nomination at his Springfield home, contains the indispensable "carry forward," for it is pregnant with war. In the second scene the President determines to hold Fort Sumter and maintain the inviolability of the Union; and conflict becomes apparent within his temporizing Cabinet. In the third scene a new form of conflict, emotional this time, becomes apparent in his contact with a "bitter-ender" and a bereaved pacifist mother. In the fourth he determines, at the risk of disrupting his official family, to make Antietam the occasion for the Emancipation Proclamation; and "to clear our minds," as he puts it, reads to the Cabinet from the latest Artemus Ward book, to the undisguised disgust in particular of *Hook*, a fictitious member invented by Mr. Drinkwater to typify the South. The fifth scene in its first part shows him conferring with the whisky-drinking *Grant* and pardoning a young soldier condemned to die for sleeping on guard duty; and in its second part shows *Grant* grasping *Lee's* hand when the defeated general offers his sword.

The sixth scene clearly bespeaks Mr. Drinkwater's technical ingenuity. He wishes here to present the death of Lincoln. If you have not seen nor read the play, a moment's thought will bring home the physical difficulty which this involves. The ob-

vious way is to make the stage represent the President's box and perhaps others adjoining. But that within view of the audience, and such a scene is seldom convincing. Moreover, to remind an audience that the characters it is watching are themselves watching a play always imperils the theatrical illusion. Mr. Drinkwater dexterously escapes both horns of the dilemma. He makes the stage represent a small lounge back of the boxes in Ford's theater. Through the door opening into the President's box we catch glimpses of him and his party and hear him respond to an ovation from the fictitious audience, in a speech for which Mr. Drinkwater has daringly made use of the Gettysburg address; we see occupants of the other boxes, during an intermission between the fictitious acts, paying their respects to *Lincoln*; we see *Booth* make ready for murder, we see him enter the box, we hear the fatal shot, and as the curtain falls, after the resultant moments of confusion and hurry, we hear *Stanton's* words, "Now he belongs to the ages." It is then we realize that if the assassin's bullet gave Lincoln indeed to the ages, John Drinkwater and Frank McGlynn have given him the more securely at least to this generation.

The objectionable Anglican kinks which made the play difficult in the reading have been ironed out in the stage presentation. Mr. Drinkwater explains in a note on the program that he wrote necessarily in the idiom to which he had been bred, and that explanation, if one were needed, is ample. "Abraham Lincoln" is a big play, a great drama; *Abraham Lincoln*, as Frank McGlynn projects him to us, is a torch rekindled.

Liberalism In America

By Charles B. Mitchell.

LIBERALISM IN AMERICA," by Mr. Harold E. Stearns, late assistant editor of *The Dial* (New York: Boni & Liveright), is, in many respects, a valuable book, well worth the reading. In the first place, Mr. Stearns has a correct idea of his subject. He defines liberalism in terms of spirit rather than of economic or political dogma. Liberalism is, in essence, the exact antithesis of the dogmatic spirit; it is the spirit which respects the other fellow's personality; which is willing to hear the other side of the discussion; which welcomes criticism; which appreciates the value of opposition, even to the truth; which relies on reason and persuasion, rather than on force to win converts to truth and right. And no historian of the American mind, for many years to come, can afford to neglect Mr. Stearns's analysis of the causes for the disappearance of whatever liberalism we could boast of from American life at the beginning of the war. But I have three crows to pick with Mr. Stearns. Two of them relate to real defects of the work; the third is the result of a disagreement between Mr. Stearns and myself as to the best standpoint from which to consider the subject, if a book on it is to do the utmost good. In the first place, the style of the book is really clumsy, and decidedly unattractive. In places it hardly rises to the dignity of prose. And then the title is altogether too broad for the ground the book assumes to cover. It really should be entitled "Liberalism Between the War and the Social Revolution." For the portion of the book which deals with the history of what the author calls "Liberalism in America" before the beginning of our participation in the war seems, as one reads the book, to have very little but a prefatory value.

The most serious feature of the book is, that its appeal is limited to the postulate that a social revolution is coming, and coming very soon. Mr. Stearns conceives the task of liberalism to be that of making the revolution peaceful, if possible; and, if it has to come to violence, it is up to the liberals, according to his last chapter, to see that as much as possible of the race's heritage of culture and idealism survives the cataclysm. But not all of us who are

dissatisfied with things as they are, allow ourselves to concede that a "revolution" is inevitable. We are many of us optimistic enough to believe that the present mood of reaction will wear itself out, and that the process of social evolution, under the guidance of democratic ideals, will once more begin to function. There are many signs that thinking people are waking up, all over the country, to protest against violence in the name of law and order, as well as in the name of social amelioration.

For instance, I take two religious newspapers; one representing the denomination to which my wife used to belong; the other, the denomination we now affiliate with. One of these papers is published in Boston, the other in Chicago. They are classed among the leading religious newspapers of the country. One of them, not long ago, devoted one article to questioning seriously the wisdom of the policy of wholesale raids on the so-called "Reds," and another, the succeeding week, to condemning the exclusion of the Socialist Assemblymen from the New York Legislature. The other paper entitled an editorial on the latter subject, "Cheap Patriotism Gone Crazy." A friend told me the other day that the *New York Churchman*, perhaps the leading organ of the Protestant Episcopal Church, had come out in defense of Dr. Percy Stickney Grant's right to say what he did in comparison between the *Mayflower* and the *Buford*, "the Soviet Ark." The *New York Tribune* is quoted by the *Literary Digest* as speaking to the same effect. Frank I. Cobb's address on "The Need of a Free Press" is going over the country. The *Kansas City Star*, erstwhile organ of the violent Americanism of the late Colonel Roosevelt, published that address in full in a recent Sunday issue. When Rev. Norman Thomas was billed to speak at Williams College, attempts were made to prevent the lecture from being given. The American Legion tried to interfere, but quit when they found that Thomas would be protected by a guard of ex-service men fully equal in number to those who could be mustered for an attack. Then an appeal was made to President Garfield, of the College, (son of James A. Garfield), to prohibit the meeting at which Thomas was to speak. Dr. Garfield refused and told the protesters that he was glad to have Dr. Thomas speak to the students, and, if he could find himself at liberty, should surely attend the meeting. The New York City Bar Association (to return to the case of the Socialist Assemblymen), under the leadership of Charles E. Hughes, condemned the action of the Assembly; and a motion to disapprove the action of the City Association was voted down, 131 to 100, in the annual meeting of the New York State Bar Association. Mr. Hughes again led the forces of liberalism. These may be only straws; but they are straws which show a new direction of the wind, and give hope of a return of the American people to sanity, at least after the presidential campaign of 1920 is over. We nearly all go crazy in a Presidential election year.

Practically all these incidents have occurred since Mr. Stearns finished the manuscript of his book. Had he been able to include them in his data, he would have been less pessimistic about the possibility of a peaceful social evolution out of the deadliest of the social evils we are now facing. But apart from the merits of the question, in the present state of the public mind, a man who assumes, as the primary datum of his argument, a coming social revolution, condemns his book to be unread by the very people who need it most. I wish that Mr. Stearns had done two things which he has not: (1) That he had traced the history of liberalism farther back than he has done in discussing our national heritage; and (2) that he had considered the value of the liberal spirit a little more abstractly, instead of treating it so concretely, in connection with a "social revolution." That phrase, just now, is like a red rag to a bull, when flaunted in the faces of a lot of the people who need to read most of what Mr. Stearns has written.

In considering the history of liberalism, prior to its emergence in the United States, Mr. Stearns

has overlooked the fact that liberalism first arose in the sphere of religion, and spread from there to the field of politics.

The origins of liberalism go back to the Renaissance. That was its classic age. And there it arose as a protest in favor of human reason against Catholic dogmatism and other-worldliness. In France, its prime exemplar, its fountain and source, was Montaigne. In England, at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, there was a short-lived liberal movement led by Dan Colet, of St. Paul's, Sir Thomas More, and Erasmus. But this movement was crushed by the ecclesiasticism of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, and the dogmatism of the Puritans. It was not until the fourth decade of the Seventeenth Century, in the midst of the Civil War which gave birth to the theocracy of Cromwell, that Anglo-Saxon liberalism really came to its final birth in Lord Falkland and the Latitudinarians. The tradition has never died out since then; and to-day, in the midst of suppression and fanaticism in the political field, it is still alive in the church, in spite of the orthodoxy and dogmatism of so many small minds. I can only account on the score of ignorance for any man's writing the history of the liberal spirit in America without mentioning the names of the great modern religious liberals, Horace Bushnell, Henry Ward Beecher, Phillips Brooks, and Lyman Abbott. And now we have to add Percy Stickney Grant to the list of militant ones. When liberalism is as much alive as it is in the church to-day it is the plain teaching of history that it can't help spilling over, sooner or later, into the field of politics.

Mr. Stearns is no lover of Puritanism, either ancient or modern. Neither am I. But his antipathy blinds him to the fact that liberalism is always the daughter of Puritanism, although sired by reaction against it. The human mind cannot permanently remain in slavery to any dogmatic creed, or any kill-joy system of morals. Sometimes the daughter fails to survive the cruelty of her unnatural mother. The liberalism of the Renaissance was crushed out by the Catholic Spanish Puritanism of Philip the Second and the Duke of Alva, during the latter part of the Sixteenth Century. But in Anglo-Saxondom, since the days of Falkland, Puritanism has never been able to gain more than a temporary triumph over liberalism. And I, unlike Mr. Stearns, who seems unduly pessimistic, perhaps from lack of insight into this historic rhythm of action and reaction, between Puritanism and liberalism, am optimistic enough to believe that America has yet to see her era of real liberalism of thought and feeling, in which creative work will be possible in the sphere of industry as well as in the sphere of art.

Mr. Stearns also suggests, by the material he gathers, another thought. There are several things which counterfeit liberalism very closely, which are not really the genuine article. Passionate revolt against the *status quo* is not necessarily liberalism. Often the rebel is as dogmatic and illiberal as the authoritarian. And solemn trifling with great issues, the result of skeptical lack of any particular conviction, is often, and generally, just as far from being the "liberal" sentiment. Liberalism, in its truest form, is the tolerance of a man who holds great convictions strongly, for himself, and lets others have liberty to think for themselves. Live, and let live, is the true liberal spirit; think, and let think. Such a spirit is the finest flower of the highest culture. It can arise from no selfish soil. Mr. Stearns roots American liberalism in economic revolt; that was the trouble with it, when the great test came. It was not nourished by the great human tradition. So far as it was merely rebellious or trifling, it withered away in the heat of popular passion. If a new liberal movement is to grow up in America, it must root itself in nothing else but loyalty to reason, and the love of man, even of selfish, money-grubbing man. Mr. Stearns does not go as deep as this; but I thank him for the book, which provoked me, by the reading of it, to do so.

Odd Thoughts

By Jack Random

III

Faults of "Labor"

COME, let us reason together. If man is not as dense as he sometimes appears to be, he must, by now, have come to the conclusion that to raise wages is only a temporary expedient, and the doing of it, solves no problem. He must also perceive that things, economically speaking, show no tendency to improve. If there is a way out, it has not been revealed by those in the seats of the mighty. Therefore, the average man has just now no abiding faith in either political party. Yet he feels that there must be a solution for our troubles. Doubtless there is, and if so, it is so simple that man has either discarded it because of its simplicity, or thrust it aside because it requires a little thought to put into practice, and, possibly a little readjustment of present conditions that may call for self-sacrifice. If so, what is it?

As far as the struggle for mastery between Labor and Capital is concerned, it is quite possible that Labor may gain the upper hand under certain conditions. What it would do if it gained the mastery is another question. Judging by the present wage inequalities, there would grow up a vicious class and caste system. Refer, for example, to the present wages won for its members by the big four railroad brotherhoods, then compare them with the paltry wages paid to the maintenance of way men. Further, we know that Labor is grossly unprepared to run things.

However that may be, Labor will never get the upper hand until it has learned to have and repose confidence in capable leaders, and it will never have capable leaders until it is willing to pay the price. That it is a long way from doing. It will not even support its really valiant champions in the journalistic field. As a case in point, witness the suspension of that sturdy little journal of real democracy, the *Public*.

A couple dozen of really first-class executives drawn from capitalistic enterprises could easily marshal the forces of Labor and win for it the victory it craves. But that would mean the relinquishment of much that Labor holds dear. Labor is not willing to lose its life in order to gain it. Labor is not willing to pay the price of victory. It is mistrustful and too prone to greet its own friends with coldness, denunciation, ridicule, criticism. It depends too much upon hot air and sentimentality. Capital, on the other hand, measures all things by dollars and cents and is not too stingy to pay a good price for what it wants. Consequently it wins. Money gets the man.

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The Confessional

Among the many widespread superstitions extant is one that Catholic priests invented the confessional for their own amusement. Hundreds and thousands of non-Catholics believe this. A moment's reflection would show them that we flee daily from the man we suspect of being desirous of burdening us with the tale of his woes.

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Education

If a boy can get through high school without feeling ashamed of his parents, he is not 100 per cent American.

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Beauty

There is a popular belief that the average American is handsome and well built, and his woman beautiful and *seelte*. Illustrated advertisements and huge bill boards that proclaim the virtues of chewing gum, candy, nuxated iron and cigarettes, not to mention men's underwear and woman's lingerie, foster the belief. Because of this, the common man who never dreams of testing the truth of anything that he is told, goes about his daily task obsessed with the notion that he is a lone, ugly duckling in the midst of a flock of swans. While there can be no cygnification of geese, yet there's hope and a pos-

sibility that such as he may regain his self-esteem. For one thing, he may look at his fellows with a critically correct eye. Or failing that, he should examine the exhibits made by any photographer or go with care through a set of kodak pictures and the fact will be revealed that there is about us, not a widespread beauty, but an incredible amount of vulgar ugliness.

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Phones

Why is it that in a small town store the clerk will leave a customer every time to answer a telephone ring? It cannot be for the mere sake of gain, for experience has shown that the person at the other end of the line is not likely to make a purchase. Yet there is invariably an immediate abandonment of the bird in the hand for the ornithological shadow in the metaphorical bush every time the bell rings. One can put it down to the common vulgarity of the average man, and lay the continuance of the annoying practice to the moral cowardice of the same fellow.

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Soulmates.

Conan Doyle has assured us that on the other side of the veil we shall meet our soul-mates and assumes that therefore we should be overjoyed at the tidings. Some of us who have had Experiences, and in the course of time have been happily delivered from our affinities, are not elated over the prospect that Doyle sets before us.

❖❖❖

A Big Task

To invest newspapers with a sense of moral responsibility.

❖❖❖

Literary

Readers may recall the coalition of *Bliffl* and *Black George*, which shows that a union of the Puritan with the blackleg is no new thing.

❖❖❖

Pins for Wings

By Emanuel Morgan

XVII

CLINTON SCOLLARD

A MOUSE
In the piano.

❖

JOHN ONENHAM

The adoring eye
Of God's dog.

❖

LAURENCE HOUSMAN

Jack
Out of the box.

❖

DAVID MORTON

Waters
Inquisitive of earth.

❖

DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI

Lightning
As a baton.

❖

AMELIA JOSEPHINE BURR

With a comb from her hair
She patterns the sand.

❖

ROBERT UNDERWOOD JOHNSON

A tooth-brush
Whistling.

❖

ROSE O'NEILL

Flowers blown
Along a sphynx.

❖

T. A. DALY

Curb
Carolling to curb.

❖

DAVID O'NEIL

Jackstraws
And a hook of silk.

(To be continued)

Of the Nature of Himself

By Julian Clive

A -AR-THUR!" monotoned Mrs. Brooke, from the head of the breakfast table.

The handsome brown eyes of Arthur Brooke appeared momentarily above the top of the morning paper he was reading.

"A-ar-thur," she pursued, "I wish you would speak to the gardener."

She had a thick, slow voice that sounded as if it oozed through layers of fat; and she herself was puffy and pale, with a face that suggested a marsh-mallow in which certain depressions and elevations had been carelessly made.

"Well, what is it you want me to say to him?" asked Mr. Brooke.

"About the bulbs. Half of those I gave him don't seem to have come up, and they're all jonquils instead of lilies and hyacinths, and I know I bought lilies, because the name was on the package, and I'm sure he's stolen some of them—those expensive bulbs—and, anyhow, Mrs. Goldsworthy has a man who comes three times a month for less money and shows the greatest interest, and her garden looks beautiful, but somehow I can never get hold of people like that I don't know why; I'm sure I'd be glad enough to employ them."

She might have gone on thus for an hour if Mr. Brooke, slightly sarcastic, had not interrupted: "Is that what you want me to tell him?"

"Of course not, but you always pretend not to understand me," replied Mrs. Brooke, her voice thickening still more with a sense of injury.

"Well, well, I'll speak to him," said Mr. Brooke, rising hastily to avert another monologue.

Soon he was on the way to the street car that would take him to his office. Usually, he accepted his wife as part of the day's work; but this morning she grated on him. Most husbands when irked by a senseless wife have the cold comfort of saying to themselves: "You yourself did it," but this had not been the case with Arthur Brooke; his wife had thrust herself upon him.

He had been the only son of a widow, who had brought him up to regard weak, defenceless Woman as the sacred charge of noble, chivalrous Man. She was a gentle, artless creature, and did not realize how competent the average woman is to look after her own interests. If Arthur's mother had lived to see him grown, it is probable the protective instinct of motherhood would have aroused within her a sense of the dangers to be feared for him from the predatory female. But Arthur was orphaned early, and, being a Southerner, he had a native tendency toward sentiment.

It happened at a moonlight picnic—a dangerous form of entertainment in any circumstances. Jenny Rushworth somehow attached herself to him, and—again, somehow—they strayed apart from the others; Jenny pretending to be afraid of the shadows and of possible snakes, and clutching his arm with little squeals of terror. She was not pretty. Her figure was ill made, and she had not much bridge to her nose, which gave her face a flat look; but her complexion was fresh, and her liberally displayed arms and shoulders were plump and white. Jenny said her slipper was untied, and they sat down on a log. Then she leaned her head on his shoulder, and a few minutes later both arms were around his neck.

Presently, Arthur was hurrying Jenny back to the others, horrified with her and himself; and for the rest of the evening he kept at a safe distance from her. But handsome Arthur was a prey not to be lightly relinquished. Not only was he a budding lawyer, but he had a nice little fortune of his own. About two months later Jenny stole into his office and made a tearful scene. She would be disgraced—her father, like the parents in melodramas, would turn her out of doors; and though in that warm climate there was no snow to aggravate such a situation, still, it would not be pleasant in any sort of weather to be thus cast forth. Arthur was over-

whelmed with guilt and remorse. He had wronged a poor, frail, defenceless woman! So they eloped, though there would have been no opposition to their marriage. Jenny had been on Mr. Rushworth's hands for some time; he was not well off, and he had other daughters.

Greenvale, the country town where they lived, whispered and conjectured and tittered. Arthur imagined everyone must think him a base combination of Lothario and Lovelace, while they were considering him a poor dupe. His sensitiveness became acute, and he moved away from Greenvale to a nearby city; and there the child that might have consoled him was born, only to die.

This was the end of Arthur's youth.

That Belgian author, whom magazine sentimentalists call "the Master," uttered words of wisdom when he said that nothing happens to a man that is not of the nature of himself. It is not only what we do, but what we permit to be done, that has power to shape our lives. Given his foolish training and his soft heart, Arthur Brooke was the foredoomed prey of some woman. That he was caught by such a simple ruse was due to his youth and inexperience.

After that one spasmodic effort of instinct to find a mate, by which all animals are moved, Jenny settled down solidly and stolidly to make herself comfortable. She grew fatter each year. She pottered about her house, and was forever having her frocks taken apart and sewed together again by cheap dressmakers, with the result that she always looked like "a package." She gathered some kindred souls about her, and they gave fussy teas and played fumbling games of cards. So far from feeling or expressing any gratitude towards the man who had helped her out of a humiliating position, she developed a standing grievance against him; he "took no interest," he "never tried to help her," etc. But at bottom she was contented in a snail-like way.

For the most part, Arthur was resigned to his wife as to the inevitable; but we all have our moments of revolt, and this morning he was going through one of them. It seemed an outrage that his life must virtually begin and end in a stupid, fat woman who did not even care for him.

As he entered his office, his typist, Adrienne Mitford, looked up from her typewriter, and he noticed, as if for the first time, how luminously blue were her eyes. She was slender and rather tall, with well-balanced features and gold-brown hair that curled prettily about a white brow—the type of girl who, if she remains unmarried, is a sylph at twenty, haggard at thirty, and a hag at forty.

Arthur answered her "Good morning" rather curtly, and, immersed in mental gloom, sat down to the day's work. With the egoism of youth, Adrienne associated his furrowed brow with something in which she must have failed; for it was her first situation, and she was self-distrustful. As she brought some typed letters for his inspection, she said timidly, "I'm afraid I'm not giving satisfaction, Mr. Brooke. I know I'm not very experienced."

At sight of the pretty, wistful face, Arthur's brow cleared, and he replied kindly, "My dear Miss Mitford, you're thoroughly satisfactory. But if I'm rather grump today, you know we all have our private worries."

"Yes, I suppose so," assented Adrienne; and then she broke out, with girlish impulsiveness, "but you're so kind to everybody, Mr. Brooke, I'm sure you don't *deserve* to be worried."

"It isn't what we deserve—it's what's wished on us," said Arthur, "and when it's in one's own home, and one can never get away from it—"

He had said more than he meant to say; his sense of grievance fairly pushing the words out of his mouth. But it was the small end of the wedge. He had permitted the girl to guess that his life was unsatisfactory, and her beautiful eyes had glowed with unuttered sympathy. Arthur let her see that her understanding of his trouble was sweet to him; and Adrienne, another sentimentalist, quite thrilled to think that he should confide in her. She did not

envy other girls their commonplace, outspoken love-affairs, when she had this secret garden in which grew only pure flowers of friendship, no noxious weeds. To both of them, she appeared his gentle consoler; and in the course of time came the inevitable hint that if he could only have found a woman like her! Gradually it got to be understood somehow that if fate should remove Mrs. Brooke, Adrienne would be her successor.

Fate, however, continued to ignore Mrs. Brooke. Adrienne was a girl of good principles, and Arthur, but for that one fatal lapse, was a moral man. So there you are! as Henry James used to say. Apart from any sentimental interest, Arthur wanted to keep Adrienne near him. She was capable and intelligent, and she became in time almost indispensable in his office. Other men envied him the possession of a typist who could spell and did not marry and leave him.

But the inexorable years plodded on; five—six—eight—ten. Adrienne began to grow a little haggard. From having been slender she became thin; her neck had a stringy look. Slight hollows appeared in her cheeks, and her eyes were sometimes sunken. The pity of it was that, with love and happiness, she would have blossomed splendidly; but frustration had withered her.

Arthur was forty now—a dangerous age for men—and he was developing into a sentimentalist turned sour. He began to feel a dull hostility toward destiny that had imposed the flat staleness of his life upon him. Looking at Adrienne with the eyes of disenchantment, he saw that she was faded and that the spinsterly look was coming upon her. He often thought peevishly that his existence was passed between one woman who was too fat and another who was too thin. He was frequently snappish to Adrienne; but she, poor thing, centered on one idea as a woman in love always is, fancied it was the thought of their parted lives that made him morose.

But Mrs. Brooke really did die, and very suddenly, too, though she had always taken her own time about everything else. Arthur preserved an outward decency of demeanor, but he could not be such a self-deceiver as to pretend he either missed or mourned her.

The first day he went to his office after her death, it was a beautiful bright spring morning. He viewed the world with reawakened interest, as if on the threshold of a new life. The sky was so blue—the dancing boughs so green. The streets seemed to be full of pretty women. He noticed a piquant brunette, deliciously plump, who showed a pretty foot and leg as she skipped out of a limousine. After all, it was good to be alive!

When he entered his office, Adrienne started up and said tremulously, "I've been thinking of you every minute!"

Then with an impulsive movement she flung herself on his breast, sobbing: "Oh, Arthur, Arthur!—at last!—after all these years!"

My White Collie, Donald

By John L. Hervey

I COULD not look into his eyes and say
He had no soul, for something in their glow—
Something I cannot say but surely know—
Belied it. Soulless? If existence may
Prove the divine in us by what from day
To day our human actions mutely show,
Might it not be as true that even so
His proved him something more than bestial clay?

Donald, white-coated, white-souled, faithful friend,
Who knew nor did no evil, two brief years
And bright, our fellowship, so joyous, spanned.
I look back to them through a mist of tears,
Into those eyes, that spoke love to the last,
When, dying, still you strove to kiss my hand.

"The Brass Check"

By A. T. M.

When reading a particularly startling Associated Press dispatch in your morning paper has it ever occurred to you to doubt its veracity. Of course it has, and the next day your doubt has been justified by an entirely contradictory report from the same source. But perhaps it has never occurred to you that these dispatches were deliberately falsified in order to create public sentiment in favor of certain interests. Yet this is exactly what is done in innumerable instances, according to Upton Sinclair, who, in "The Brass Check" has abandoned the garb of fiction in which he customarily clothes his reform crusades and boldly charges that news is perverted and public confidence betrayed and public opinion "doped" by deliberate plans systematically carried out; that high-priced experts sit in council with the masters of industry, report on the condition of the public mind, and together determine in what guise news shall be presented or what facts shall be suppressed. All to serve the ends of the power of concentrated wealth which rules America, variously known as "Wall Street," "Big Business," "the Trusts," "the System," etc.

Big Business, Mr. Sinclair says, has four chief methods of control: by owning the papers outright, by owning the papers' owners, by advertising subsidies and direct bribery. Over and above all, Big Business owns the Associated Press, that great monopoly of news gathering power more powerful than any of the trusts. His argument continues that it is through the treachery of the Associated Press to the people that Big Business has its greatest control, for the Associated Press becomes a channel of news distribution when the news is favorable to Big Business and a concrete wall impossible of passage when the news is unfavorable. Not only are the facts withheld but false reports are sent out. Sometimes a contradictory or nullifying word is inserted as the "no" in Senator La Follette's now famous speech against our entering the war. If an interview with anyone in the public eye is impossible to obtain, an interview is faked; or if the one given does not endorse the cause of the "interests" it is garbled to make say things never in the mind of the person interviewed. George Moore but evidenced his wisdom in interviewing himself and sending the typed manuscript to the editor. Others have done this, among them Upton Sinclair himself, but the typed interview has

been doctored even then. Sinclair quotes examples of this from his own experience. This is charged against individual papers, not against the Associated Press.

These are not mere general assertions of a muckraker. Sinclair presents names, dates, facts, figures, documents, corroborative testimony. He invites prosecution by the Associated Press, flaunting his evidence of the Associated Press' culpability before the world. The facts he relates are more astounding than those performed by captains of industry in popular novels. He tells and shows how in the railroad rate investigation, evidence inimical to the roads' plea was suppressed while the rail heads' false testimony was played up in scare heads. He illustrates how, last year, the packers spent millions in advertising—

not to sell their products, but to subsidize the press. He tells the inside story—his inside story—of the Los Angeles Times, of the Ludlow massacre, of the Pennsylvania strike—and he tells many a thrilling and amusing experience of his own. Sometimes one has the unpleasant sensation that Mr. Sinclair is not wholly honest with his readers, that he is withholding a bit of qualifying context. But this is only when relating the persecution directed at him personally and does not appreciably affect his case against the big newspapers generally. At times his judgment is hopelessly distorted, as, for instance, when he encounters the Catholic church, which to him is the abomination of desolation. "The truth" is always *his* truth: there is no other. However, the prejudiced reader may discount his book even 90 per cent,

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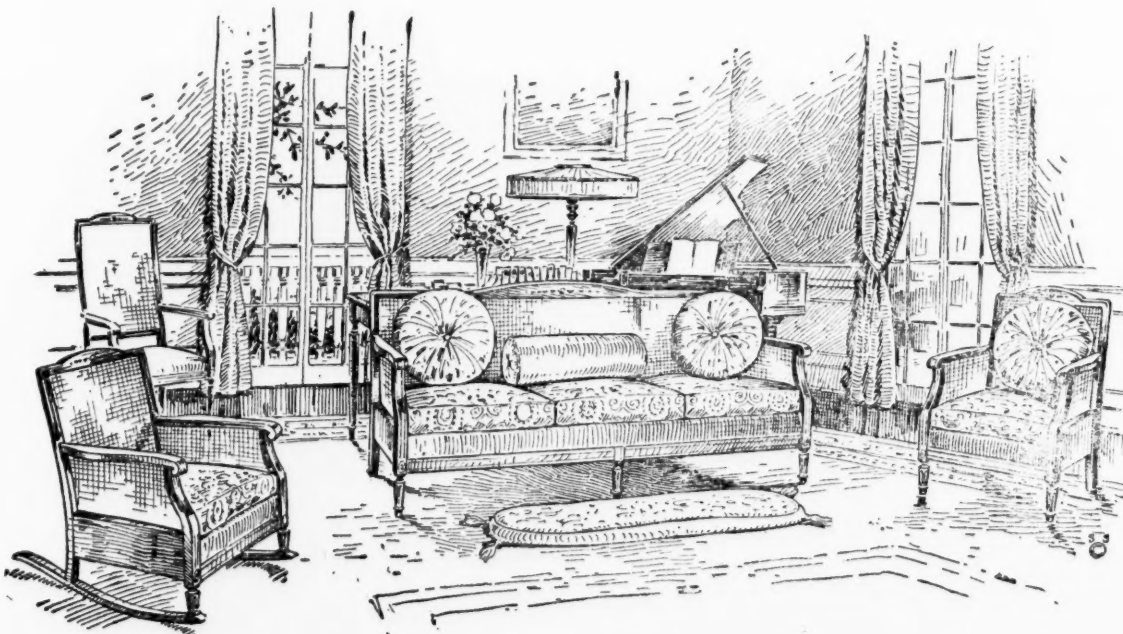


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Furniture—for Your Living Room

It is perhaps of greater importance than that of any less favored room; the truly livable room must serve as a recreational center for the family and should further present an appeal of restful ease.

The furniture below described is of splendid quality, artistically built, and is worthy a place in the most sumptuous interior.

Decidedly decorative and most inviting is a three-piece Suite of Overstuffed Living-Room Furniture. It is of durable construction, with loose-cushion seats in Queen-Anne design and beautifully upholstered in brocaded velour. Davenport, armchair and rocker **\$205.00**

The same general construction is featured in another Queen Anne three-piece Suite which is upholstered in durable tapestry **\$275.00**

Davenport Tables — Queen Anne and William and Mary style, in mahogany **\$32.50**

Many other designs in cane and overstuffed Living-Room Suites may be had, and odd Living-Room Chairs show desirable upholstery of velour and tapestry. Chairs are priced upward from **\$35.00**

Occasional Tables, in American walnut or mahogany **\$9.50**

Chaise Lounge, covered with pleasing color combination in striped demin **\$69.00**

Chaise Lounge, with upholstery of blue art denim **\$115.00**

Very specially priced are 10x14 French Plate Mirrors, with gold finish frame **\$3.25**

Furniture Shop—Fifth Floor

Scruggs - Vandervoort - Barney

for whatever reason, and the residue of fact commands the thoughtful attention—and action—of every American.

Sinclair suggests a way to overcome the evil condition now prevalent. In the first place, he would enact and enforce a law providing that no newspaper should print an interview with anyone without having the interviewer's O. K. on the manuscript. Also a law providing that when any newspaper has made any false statement concerning an individual and has had its attention called to the falsity of this statement it shall publish a statement of the correction in the next edition of the paper, in the same spot and with the same prominence given the false statement. He would have a law too forbidding any newspaper to fake telegraph or cable dispatches, as is now so generally the custom. These would undoubtedly be good laws. Mr. Sinclair doesn't seem to care for Mr. W. J. Bryan's proposal of a government newspaper for facts with contributions equally representing all shades of opinion upon matters of controverted policy.

Aside from these laws Sinclair has a remedy worked out to its financial requirements, in which he invites public participation. He proposes a truth-telling weekly to be known as *The National News* which shall carry no editorials and no advertisements—which shall be simply a record of events and *not* a journal of opinion. It will be published on ordinary newsprint in the cheapest possible form—sixty-four pages, nine by twelve inches, three columns each, suggested. Its one purpose will be to give to the American people the truth about the world's events. It will publish, particularly, truth suppressed by the Associated Press or by the "kept" press. It will refute lies published by the Associated Press or "kept" press. It will have reliable men in the principal cities of America and the world to telegraph reports on events of national interest. Sinclair assures us that he doesn't want to be editor; he has other work to do. He advocates control vested in a board of directors composed of twenty or thirty men and women of all creeds and causes, with whom should be associated directors appointed by national organizations, such as the American Federation of Labor, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Nonpartisan League, the National Teachers' Federation, etc.

Students of the question of the polluted press will recall, in reading Mr. Sinclair's book, the address by Mr. Reedy of the MIRROR, before the Missouri Press Association in 1908, afterwards published and widely circulated as a pamphlet entitled "The Myth of a Free Press." Mr. Reedy covered much of Sinclair's present ground, and twice or thrice Sinclair quotes Mr. Reedy in "The Brass Check." Sinclair is stronger in the latter half of his book. The first part, concerning chiefly his own experience of misrepresentation and defeat in endeavors to get anti-plutocratic facts into papers and magazines is interesting, but some of it is trivial and egotistically silly. The latter half of the book is more in the nature of a knock-out. He shows how the press is plugged against anything that runs counter to the interests of those who have profited or hope to profit by the continuance of things as they are. He cites no instances from

St. Louis but he might have made a good chapter on the *Globe-Democrat's* fight against a proposal to recall Mayor Kiel for approving a deal with the United Railways that had been preceded by the burglarious theft of referendum petitions against the consummation of that deal.

Many people will wonder how the title "The Brass Check" applies to the content of Sinclair's book. He explains in his opening chapter. The title derives from an incident in William Travers Jerome's candidacy for district attorney in New York City. Jerome in his public campaign speeches dealt with the

subject of prostitution. Jerome pictured a room in which women displayed their persons and men walked up and down and inspected them, selecting one as they would an animal at a fair. The man paid his three dollars or his five dollars to a cashier at the window and received a brass check, then he gave this brass

Sheffield Silver

—As Shown at Jaccard's

You will like the designs of Colonial quaintness, and others that are equally beautiful, which, when combined with supreme quality and exquisite workmanship completes a work of art—ininitely beautiful and of equal utility.

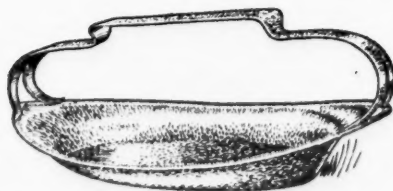


Sugar and Creamer in Sheffield silver, in Colonial and other dainty shapes; choice of hammered or satin finish. Priced upward from - \$9.50 to \$19.50

Water Pitchers, on lines plain or Colonial shown in satin or bright finish \$16.00 to \$35.00

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A Beautiful Sandwich Tray, is in pierced or engraved design, satin or bright finish \$3.50 to \$16.00



Roll Trays in shapes that are new and distinctive; have handles, and are in gray or bright finish \$7.50 to \$20.00



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check to the woman for her favors. Jerome would produce one of those checks from his pocket and hold it up to the crowd. "Behold!" he would cry. "The price of a woman's shame." Jerome was elected—and did nothing. There is more than one kind of prostitution, Sinclair says, that may be symbolized by the Brass Check. The press may resent the analogy or comparison, but it will hardly advertise the book. There is too much truth in it. "The Brass Check" is published at 50 cents a copy, by Mr. Sinclair at Pasadena, California.

Chamber Music

LETZ AND FLONZALEY,

By Victor Lichenstein.

The most intimate, the most profound, the most beautiful of all forms of music is that which is labeled "Chamber Music." The average listener will find perhaps less appeal, at first, in this style of composition than in any other; appreciation presupposes a sensitive ear, concentration of mind, and musical memory. To those whose passion is orchestral

music, it seems lacking in variety, in color and sensationalism. But to those to whom its beauties have been revealed, it becomes the most cherished of all esthetic delights; your quartet enthusiast (despite Carl van Vechten's dictum of "Music for Museums," in reference to Symphony and Quartet concerts), is a more infatuated worshipper than is to be found in any other branch of art.

The two essential features of this form are: First, it is designed for a small number of performers, from two to nine; second, *each performer is an individualist*, freely expressing his own thought, yet with due self-restraint, and

with the utmost consideration for the harmonious blending of all voices. Chamber music is the artistic realization of the dream of the "fellowship" of Professor Nathaniel Schmidt, the true brotherhood of man.

Of musical interest (in the program to be played next Saturday evening, Feb. 28, at the Sheldon Auditorium, by the Letz String Quarter) is the new quartet by that master violinist, Fritz Kreisler. It received its first performance on April 15 last in New York at Aeolian Hall, and was enthusiastically applauded by a discriminating audience. The work is in four movements; the melodic element predominates, and this, together with Kreisler's exquisite musicianship, his expert sensing of string effects, as well as his originality in ravishing harmonic combinations, have contributed toward the creation of a charming piece of chamber music. Some critics have found fault with his employment of appealing devices already used with success in his smaller solo compositions; but none can gainsay its irresistible charm and daring technical demands. I for one am looking toward its performance with the liveliest anticipation.

A Beethoven quartet and the "Theme and Variations" from Schubert's D-minor quartet complete the program. Schubert has purloined one of his own lovely songs "Death and the Maiden," and has written a series of variations without a rival in chamber music. Here is worthy play for the faculties of concentration in the listener; but don't be frightened, fair lady, the variations are ravishing in their beauty.


Mr. Betti, first violinist of the Flonzaley's, has written me that he will play the Smetana, "From My Life," a successful attempt to write programmatic and nationalistic (Bohemian) music in the mold of the string quartet. This glorious composition, which my quartet frequently played in the early years of the century, contains an "Epithalamium" notably beautiful. Further the assignment of a strong individualist to the viola (the tenor of the quartet), and the fact that this part will be played by the greatest living master of this neglected instrument, Louis Bailly, lends additional interest to the event. The Flonzaleys will be heard on March 23.

You remember what Arnold Bennett said in his little book on "Literary Taste." The aim of literary study is *not* to amuse the hours of leisure; it is to awaken oneself, it is to be alive, to intensify one's capacity for pleasure, for sympathy, for comprehension." Similarly the purpose and aim of concert going is "to be alive," to intensify one's capacity for the comprehension of and reaction to beauty in the world of sound. Attend the Chamber music series!



Coming Shows

Madam Bertha Kalich, in her latest dramatic sensation, "The Riddle: Woman," is announced as the attraction at the Shubert-Jefferson Theatre for the week commencing Sunday evening, February 29th. In this play, by Dorothy Donnelly and Charlotte Wells, Madam Kalich has achieved her greatest success in this country. It gives her the first opportunity of appearing in a modern drama. She is now acclaimed the greatest emotional actress of the day. New York was favored with seven months of her portrayal of the beautiful and fascinating figure Lila Dirik; three months



Rachmaninoff and the Ampico

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Sergei Rachmaninoff.

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were accorded Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston, and in all these cities her reception has been extremely flattering. No doubt St. Louis will fall in line. The same cast which appeared with Madam Kalich in the New York and Chicago runs will appear here. Among the foremost members are found the names of such artists as Charles Millward, Frank Burbeck, Jack Boseleigh, Adele Klaer, Paget Hunter, Alice Haynes, Lottie Salsbury, Esther Morgan and Jane Seymour.

The Orpheum will open a brilliant first week of March, beginning Monday afternoon, with Jimmy Hussey at the top of the bill in his latest comedy, "Move On," said to be "a lifting load of luscious laughter" a la musical farce, abetted by such funsters as Edna Burton, William Worsley, the Six Shimmop Cops and twelve others. On the same bill will be Lillian Shaw, vocal dialect comedian, in a repertoire of character-songs. Next is a comedy called "Indoor Sports," by Harlan Thompson and Hugh Herbert, directed by William B. Friedlander. Lydia Barry, lyrical raconteuse, will talk in her own unique fashion. "Skeet" Gallagher and Irene Martin in "Sweaters," Will J. Ward and Five Symphony Girls with a notable cast of classy musicians, Blanche and Jimmy Creighton in "Mudtown Vaudeville," and the Aerial De Groffs, sensational gymnasts, round out the bill.

Frances Starr comes to the American Theatre next Monday evening for one week in the remarkable play, "Tiger! Tiger!" Miss Starr need only be recalled to local theatregoers' remembrance by a partial list of the plays in which she has established a splendid reputation as a theatrical artist: "The Easiest Way," "The Case of Beckie," "Marie Odile." The play itself was written by Captain Knoblock while he was fighting in France. The manuscript had the benefit of the revision of Mr. David Belasco in the light of that manager's experience as a producer. It has been a tremendous success in New York for more than six months. Concerning Miss Starr's acting the metropolitan critics are nothing short of ecstatic. Among the excellent actors associated with Miss Starr are Lionell Atwill, Frederick Lloyd, Wallace Erskine, Whitford Kane, Thomas Loudon, Edwin Denison, Mary Moore, Helen Andrews and Daisy Belmore. The play is to be presented at the American with the same scenic effects which captivated audiences in New York during the long run of the play there.

"I should think you'd find electric power better than these old windmills." "We do. We maintain the windmills to interest tourists and for artists to paint."—*Kansas City Journal*.

It is worrying over things which never happen that makes business and professional men gnaw their finger nails, bark at their employes, lie awake counting sheep at night and makes their children say "Sh-h-h-h. Here comes papa!"

Worry puts men in jail, in bankruptcy, in Dutch, in the hospital in the cemeteries. Can worry and cultivate calm. It pays in dollars and cents. Better business demands the elimination of worry.

They are never alone who are accompanied by noble thoughts.

"Before we were married," she complained, "you always engaged a cab when you took me anywhere. Now you think the street car is good enough for me."

"No, my darling, I don't think the street car is good enough for you. It's because I'm so proud of you. In a cab you would not be seen by nobody, while I can show you off to so many people by taking you in a street car."

"Sedition"

By Edmund Vance Cooke

(Copyright by the National Editorial Association.)

You cannot salt the eagle's tail,
Nor limit thought's dominion.
You cannot put ideas in jail;
You can't deport opinion.

If any cause be dross and lies,
Then drag it to the light;
Out in the sunshine evil dies,
But fattens on the Night.

You cannot make a truth untrue
By dint of legal fiction.
You cannot prison human view,
You can't convict conviction.

For though by thumbscrew and by rack,
By exile and by prison,
Truth has been crushed and palled in
black,
Yet truth has always risen.

You cannot quell a vicious thought
Except that thought be free;
Gag it, and you will find it taught
On every land and sea.

Truth asks no favor for her blade
Upon the field with Error,
Nor are her converts ever made
By threat of force and terror.

You cannot salt the eagle's tail,
Nor limit thought's dominion.
You cannot put ideas in jail,
You can't deport opinion.

Furs

THE matter of buying furs is very reasonably looked upon as making an investment. To those who appreciate an investment for its own sake, fur buying now is one of the best. The recent fur auction showed astounding increases in the price of pelts. Even now the new fur pieces that are coming in are much higher priced than the same article a season ago. In spite of this situation we are continuing our clearance sale of furs, offering every piece in the house at reductions on former valuations. With this in view, it is easy to see that if you are at all interested in furs, this is the time to make the purchase. If so desired, a reasonable deposit may be made and the furs taken or stored in our vaults during the summer. The articles offered for sale include Fur Wraps, Stoles, Scarfs and Chokers in practically all the desired pelts.

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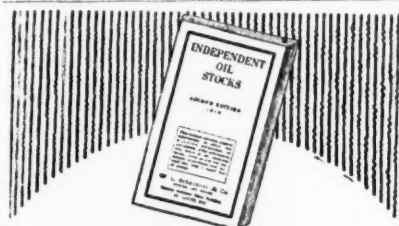
Security Underwriting Corporation
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Marts and Money

The demand for securities continues to broaden in the New York market. It reflects the stimulating influences of substantial gains in values both in the industrial and railroad lists. Railroad shares are forging to the front, and that in a way which has not been seen in a long time. Some of them show advances of eight to twelve points over recent low records. Union Pacific, for example, has risen from 110 to 121½. New York Central, which was down to 63¾, is now rated at 73½. Especially interesting is

the conspicuousness of low-priced issues, such as Rock Island common, Missouri Pacific, 'Frisco common, Missouri, K. & Texas common, Pere Marquette common, and New Haven & Hartford. The two last named are quoted at 31¼ and 35½, respectively, against 12¾ and 25½. The brisk inquiry for stocks of this class is largely based on the consideration that they are less costly to carry on margin than those selling at high prices.

The principal cause of the bulge is, of course, the general expectation that the railroad bill will shortly become law in substantially the form desired by its supporters, vigorous objections on the part of railway unions notwithstanding. The attitude of Congress in this particular matter is viewed with undisguised satisfaction in Wall Street. It is regarded as indicative of the growth of more liberal ideas concerning corporations and the rights of property in general. The adoption of the Conference Committee's report by a vote of 250 to 150 quite countenances this view. Of pre-eminent importance is the anti-strike clause, which is in line with similar legislation in Canada and designed to have beneficial effects not only upon the transportation industry, but, indirectly, upon social, economic and political affairs in general.



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a corporation controlled by the

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Total Issue, \$1,750,000

Value of Mortgaged Property, \$3,000,000

Notes are dated August 15, 1919, and mature annually on August 15th, commencing August 15, 1920, to August 15, 1933, thus liquidating the entire indebtedness in fourteen years.

Payment of principal and interest is guaranteed by an irrevocable 20-year lease of the above property to the United Drug Company of Boston, Mass., for an amount sufficient to pay principal, interest and all fixed charges during the life of this issue.

Price, par and accrued interest, to net purchasers six per cent. Notes will be delivered to any post office or bank at our risk. Reservations made for immediate delivery or for delivery within 30 days.

We recommend these notes to investors as being of a high grade and furnishing an attractive investment of superior merit, combining safety of principal to an unusual degree and a satisfactory rate of interest.

Write us for Circular No. 842, containing complete details.

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Mercantile Trust Company
 Member Federal Reserve System
 ST. LOUIS MISSOURI
 U.S. Government Supervision

Capital and Surplus
 \$10,000,000

Total Resources
 more than
 \$73,000,000

Concerning the earning capacity of the railroad companies after release from Federal management estimates of some financial authorities are strikingly hopeful. According to one of them, the Chesapeake & Ohio will earn \$7.50 per annum, calculated on the 5½ per cent guaranty of the Cummins-Esch bill; the Lackawanna, \$25; the Atchison, \$8; the Chesapeake & Ohio, \$7.50; the Rock Island, \$9; the Louisville & Nashville, \$15; the Missouri, K. & Texas, \$9; the Pere Marquette, \$6; the New York Central, \$10; the Chicago, M. & St. Paul, \$8; the Missouri Pacific, \$7; the Norfolk & Western, \$10; the Reading, \$12; the Southern Pacific, \$12; the Union Pacific, \$12; the St. Louis & San Francisco, \$9, and the Texas & Pacific, \$7. If these estimates are realized, purchasers of the shares mentioned as well as of others of similar intrinsic merits will have no reason for regretting their action.

Concurrently with the rise in stock values, railroad bonds, too, exhibited noteworthy firmness. The gains in prices were especially marked in speculative issues. St. Louis & San Francisco adjustment and income 6s rose three to four points. The bull contingent feels elated over the lessening of the pinch in money rates. Call loans were made at 5½ to 6 per cent, or at the lowest rates for several months.

While the money situation still has its perplexing aspects, there can be no question that the crisis is over, and that the operations of Wall Street will be financed without difficulties so long as the proponents of higher prices do not let their zeal outrun their prudence. The quick, eager response of the investing and speculative public to the temptation held out to it by the sharp improvement in stock values furnishes sufficient evidence of plenitude of surplus funds in all parts of the country, and makes it plain that, as I said in the MIRROR of February 19, "the supplies of investment-funds are much larger than the state-

ments of timid bankers and the gossip of Wall Street would have us believe."

Foreign exchange quotations are narrow and indicative of rising faith in gradual recovery in the sorely beset European countries, where attempts to promote industrial production are meeting with gratifying results. The present quo-

tation for demand sterling is \$3.40½. French bills have fallen to 13.75 francs. They were close to 15 about two weeks ago. Improvement is noted also in Italian exchange. The marked turn for the better may reasonably be expected to enlarge the flow of American merchandise to Europe.

A dispatch from Berlin informs us that the International Mercantile Marine Company has assigned three large vessels to German trade and acquired extensive docking facilities at Hamburg. Signs of financial betterment are noticeable in British finances. The position of the Bank of England shows important gain in the ratio of reserve, which is above 20 per cent at present, as compared with less than 10 per cent in the early part of January. There has been a deal of talk, lately, with regard to foreign selling of American securities by European parties, German in especial. It is questionable, however, whether there was real foundation for it. If such liquidation had been heavy, the substantial advance in Wall Street values could not have been financed and carried out as easily as it was.

Washington reports increasing shipments of gold to Japan, China, and Argentina. The total loss in 1919 was \$308,185,248. Of this amount, China took \$79,295,738; Japan, \$94,114,189, and Argentina, \$56,560,000. Exports of silver amounted to \$239,021,051, the bulk of which went to China. The foreign demand for our gold and silver is likely to expand further in 1920, but there's nothing in sight, at this time, that would warrant uneasiness with regard to the metallic protection of our currency.

✱

Finance in St. Louis.

The quotations for local shares and bonds display an upward tendency. The marked turn for the better in New York induces increased buying. It sustains hopes that a substantial improvement will be witnessed also in values of meritorious industrials in St. Louis. National Candy common, which was down to 143 some days ago, shows a rally to 150, thirty-five shares being sold at this figure. There's good demand for Laclede Steel, the current price of which is 127. The inquiry for oil and refining issues is less active than it has been recently. The price of Marland denotes a little depreciation. Sales are made at 5.50 and 5.60. Twenty-five shares of First National Bank brought 216 lately. Brokers are in an optimistic mood, as a result of rising Wall Street prices. They anticipate considerable expansion in the demand for high-grade investment shares and bonds. The local money market indicates no changes in rates for loans, which are made at 5½ to 6 per cent in the majority of cases.

✱

Local Quotations.

	Bid.	Asked.
Boatmen's Bank	182	131
United States Bank	182	220
Merchants Laclede Nat.	143	144
Nat. Bank of Commerce	372½	378
Mercantile Trust	75	75
Title Guaranty Trust	75	75
United Railways com.	48	48½
do pfd.	72	77
Fulton Iron com.	90	90½
K. C. Home Tel. \$s (\$100) ..	50	50½
Certain-tyed com.	10½	8
Rice-Stix 2d pfd.	7¼	8
Indianapolis Refg.	125	127½
Laclede Steel	100¼	101
Carleton D. G. pfd.	36	36
Brockton Heel	188	188
Fly-Walker com.		

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It is worth par because every dollar of it is backed by more than a dollar's worth of State-appraised, State-regulated, income-producing public service property.

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